

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1237  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 VIENNA 2527

EXDIS

PARIS FOR HARTMAN

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, GR, AU  
SUBJ: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA: OPENING STATEMENTS BY  
GREEK AND TURKISH-CYPRIOTS  
1. THERE FOLLOWS IN PARAGRAPHS BELOW OPENING STATEMENTS MADE  
MARCH 31 IN CLOSED SESSION BY TURKISH-CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR ONAN  
AND GREEK-CYPRIOT NEGOTIATOR PAPADOPOULOS. TAKEN TOGETHER  
STATEMENTS WILL CLEARLY NOT PROMOTE A FAVORABLE NEGOTIATING  
ATMOSPHERE IN VIENNA. TURKISH-CYPRIOT STATEMENT WAS AT  
LEAST SHORT AND GENERALLY BLAND. GREEK-CYPRIOT STATEMENT  
IN CONTRACT CLEARLY REPRESENTS SOME SLIPPAGE FROM  
COMMITMENTS MADE TO AMBASSADOR CRAWFORD IN LAST SEVERAL  
WEEKS.

2. ESPECIALLY UNFORTUNATE ARE REFERENCES TO NEED FOR FULL  
RANGE OF PROPOSALS AND COUNTER PROPOSALS BY BOTH SIDES  
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ON ALL OUTSTANDING ISSUES, ATTEMPT BY GREEK-CYPRIOTS  
TO DEFINE IN ADVANCE WHAT CONSTITUTES AN ACCEPTABLE  
TURKISH RESPONSE ON THE TERRITORIAL QUESTION, AND THE  
FLAT STATEMENT THAT PROLONGED DISCUSSION OF THE  
CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE CANNOT PROCEED BEFORE REAL PROGRESS  
ON THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE IS MADE. ALL OF THESE ELEMENTS  
SEEM TO GO BACK TO THE GREEK-CYPRIOT STRATEGY PAPER,

TO WHICH DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY NICOSIA PREVIOUSLY  
RAISED OBJECTIONS.

3. GREEK-CYPRIOTS ARE NOW SCHEDULED TO PRESENT THEIR  
TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL AND MAP AT LATE AFTERNOON SESSION  
MARCH 31. DISCUSSION OF THIS PROPOSAL WILL BEGIN AT  
THE WORKING DINNER THIS EVENING WHICH WILL BE ATTENDED  
ONLY BY WALDHEIM, URQUHART, DE CUELLAR, PAPADOPOULOS AND  
ONAN.

4. THE TURKISH-CYPRIOTS' CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSAL WILL  
BE PRESENTED ON FRIDAY MORNING APRIL 1. THE TERRITORIAL  
ISSUE WILL BE DISCUSSED ON FRIDAY AFTERNOON AND THE  
GREEK-CYPRIOTS WILL REPLY TO THE TURKISH CONSTITUTIONAL  
PROPOSAL ON SATURDAY MORNING APRIL 2.

5. BEGIN TEXT OF STATEMENT BY TURKISH-CYPRIOT  
DELEGATION LEADER, MR. UMIT SULEYMAN ONAN:

ON BEHALF OF THE TURKISH COMMUNITY IT WOULD LIKE TO  
EXPRESS OUR PLEASURE THAT AFTER AN INTERRUPTION OF 14  
MONTHS IT HAS BEEN FOUND POSSIBLE TO CONVENE THIS 6TH  
ROUND OF THE VIENNA TALKS SO THAT THE REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES CAN HAVE A NEW LOOK AT THE  
PROBLEM OF CYPRUS ON A BASIS OF EQUALITY WITH A VIEW  
TO FINDING A SOLUTION.

THE INITIATIVE TAKEN BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE TURKISH  
FEDERATED STATE OF CYPRUS MR. DENKTASH WHICH BROKE THE  
DEADLOCK AND LED TO THE TWO MEETINGS OF THE LEADERS OF  
THE TWO COMMUNITIES IN CYPRUS ONE OF WHICH WAS IN THE  
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PRESENCE OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE SECRETARY GENERAL DR.  
WALDHEIM CULMINATING IN THE AGREEMENT ON 4 BASIC  
PRINCIPLES WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF WHICH WE ARE INSTRUCTED  
TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITIES OF A SETTLEMENT, WILL, I  
HOPE PRODUCE SUCCESSFUL RESULTS.

DESPITE THE COMPLEXITY OF THE PROBLEM WHICH INVOLVES  
NOT ONLY POLITICAL, LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL FACTORS  
BUT ALSO HUMAN, ECONOMIC AND SECURITY ONES AND WHICH  
NEED A THOROUGH EXAMINATION SO THAT THIS CAN BE LOOKED  
AT AND TACKLED AS A WHOLE, MY COMMUNITY'S APPROACH  
TO THEM IS AND WILL BE IN GOOD FAITH AND CONSTRUCTIVE  
IN ORDER TO HAVE MEANINGFUL AND SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS  
ON ALL POINTS REFERRED TO US BY THE LEADERS OF THE  
TWO COMMUNITIES ALWAYS BEARING IN MIND THE REALITIES  
THAT EXIST IN CYPRUS AND THE BITTER EXPERIENCE THROUGH  
WHICH WE PASSED SINCE DECEMBER 1963. I WOULD NOT BE  
DOING MY DUTY TOWARDS MY COMMUNITY IF I WERE NOT TO  
STATE FROM THE OUTSET THAT DURING OUR DELIBERATIONS IT  
WILL BE MY PARAMOUNT CONSIDERATION AND DUTY TO SEEK

TO ENSURE THE SECURITY, ECONOMIC VIABILITY AND  
POLITICAL EQUALITY OF MY COMMUNITY.

IT CERTAINLY IS IN THE VITAL INTERESTS OF BOTH  
COMMUNITIES THAT A SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE REACHED.

BUT WE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THIS  
COMPLEX PROBLEM AT THIS SINGLE MEETING, PERHAPS IT  
WOULD BE UNREALISTIC IF ONE WERE TO EXPECT CONCLUSIVE  
RESULTS ON ALL ISSUES WITHIN A FEW MEETINGS. BUT  
WITHOUT DISPAIR, BY PATIENCE, PERSEVERANCE AND UNDER-  
STANDING SHOWN TO ONE ANOTHER'S VIEWS AND WITH CONTINUED  
TALKS I BELIEVE THAT PRODUCTIVE RESULTS WILL BE  
ACHIEVED.

DURING THE CONTINUATION OF OUR DISCUSSIONS I BELIEVE  
IT TO BE IN THE INTERESTS OF US ALL IF ACRIMONIOUS  
STATEMENTS THAT TEND TO UNDERMINE THE TALKS AND THE  
PROPAGANDA WAR AT ALL LEVELS BY EITHER SIDE ARE PUT TO  
AN END. SUCH ACTS ARE NOT ONLY UNHELPFUL BUT CREATE  
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ILL-FEELING AND PREVENT PROGRESS THAT WE ALL HOPE TO  
ACHIEVE. I ALSO HAVE TO STATE THAT THE CONTINUED  
ATTEMPT TO PUT THE TURKISH FEDERATED STATE UNDER A  
BOYCOTT AND DENY THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS THE RIGHT TO  
EXIST WILL NOT BE CONDUCIVE TO THE PEACE TALKS. THESE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 VIENNA 2527

EXDIS

PARIS FOR HARTMAN

ATTACKS ON US MUST CEASE IF WE ARE TO FOLLOW THE TALKS WITH GOOD WILL.

I AM GLAD THAT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS HAS BEEN ABLE TO BRING THE TWO SIDES TOGETHER AND I HOPE THAT IN THESE TALKS MR. PAPADOPOULOS AND I WILL BE ABLE TO FIND THE AVENUE WHICH WILL LEAD IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION TOWARDS A JUST SOLUTION. IF WE CAN ACHIEVE THIS, I THINK THE SECRETARY-GENERAL'S MISSION AND OURS WILL BE CROWNED WITH SUCCESS.

I SHOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO THANK THE AUTHORITIES OF THE HOST COUNTRY FOR GIVING US ALL THESE FACILITIES; FOR HAVING THE TALKS IN VIENNA AND FOR THE GENEROUS SUPPORT OF THE PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS IN CYPRUS SINCE 1964.

I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO EXPRESS OUR DEEP GRATITUDE AND THANKS TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF  
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THE UNITED NATIONS DR. KURT WALDHEIM FOR HAVING BEEN ABLE TO CONVENE THIS MEETING DESPITE HIS VERY TIGHT SCHEDULE OF WORK.

OUR THANKS ARE ALSO DUE TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE IN CYPRUS MR. PEREZ DE CUELLAR FOR HIS UNTIRING EFFORTS. END TEXT.

6. BEGIN TEXT OF STATEMENT BY GREEK-CYPRIOT DELEGATION LEADER MR. TASSOS PAPADOPOULOS:

AFTER THE LAPSE OF ALMOST A YEAR OF STALEMATES IN THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WE ENTER TODAY UPON THIS NEW PHASE OF THE TALKS UNDER THE AUSPICES AND PERSONAL DIRECTION OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

I TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY OF EXPRESSING DEEP GRATITUDE TO DR. WALDHEIM FOR HIS UNTIRING EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT THE RESUMPTION OF THE TALKS AND FOR BEING HERE ONCE AGAIN IN ORDER PERSONALLY TO GUIDE THEIR COURSE. I, ALSO, FEEL THAT I SHOULD STRESS MY SINCERE APPRECIATION FOR ALL THAT AMBASSADOR PEREZ DE CUELLAR HAS DONE IN ORDER TO PAVE THE WAY FOR BREAKING THE IMPASSE THAT EXISTED OVER THE PAST MONTHS AND TO ENSURE THE SMOOTH CONDUCT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WE ARE

ABOUT TO COMMENCE.

THE GREEK-CYPRIOT SIDE HAS COME TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE IN GOOD FAITH AND WITH ALL GOOD WILL. IT IS OUR SINCERE AND EARNEST WISH TO FIND A SOLUTION WHICH WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE GREEK-CYPRIOT AND TURKISH-CYPRIOT COMMUNITIES TO LIVE AND WORK TOGETHER IN HARMONY, THUS PROMOTING THE PROPER INTERESTS OF BOTH OF THEM.

UNFORTUNATELY CERTAIN STATEMENTS RECENTLY MADE ON BEHALF OF THE TURKISH SIDE, BOTH IN ANKARA AND IN NICOSIA, CAST A SHADOW OVER THIS MEETING. THEY CREATE CONFIDENTIAL

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THE IMPRESSION THAT OUR SIDE IS HERE TO LEGALIZE A SITUATION CREATED BY FORCE OF ARMS RATHER THAN TO SEARCH FOR A FREELY NEGOTIATED AND JUST SETTLEMENT. IT IS MY SINCERE HOPE THAT THESE STATEMENTS DO NOT CORRECTLY REPRESENT THE ATTITUDE OF THE TURKISH SIDE.

I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT AN HONORABLE AND VIABLE SOLUTION CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH REALLY MEANINGFUL AND SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE FOUR GUIDELINES OF 12.2.1977.

THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE IS READY AND WILLING FOR A COMPROMISE SAFEGUARDING THE SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF OUR COUNTRY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A FEDERAL BI-COMMUNAL ARRANGEMENT ENSURING THE UNITY OF THE STATE. IT IS A HOPEFUL SIGN THAT SUCH CONSIDERATIONS, BEING THE UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED ATTRIBUTES OF THE CONCEPT OF A STATE, CONSTITUTE NOW, THROUGH THE FOUR GUIDELINES, COMMON GROUND FOR THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

THE CYPRUS PROBLEM, HAS, OF COURSE, MANY ASPECTS, AND AN OVERALL AGREEMENT IS SUBJECT TO A PACKAGE DEAL ARRANGEMENT AND IS DEPENDENT UPON THE FULFILLMENT OF CERTAIN BASIC PREREQUISITES. APART FROM THE QUESTION OF THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE TURKISH FORCES FROM THE ISLAND, AND OF SECURITY EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES, ONE OF THE MAIN ISSUES IS THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE. THIS ASPECT, AS WELL AS ALL OTHER ASPECTS, ARE DEFINITELY INSEPARABLE FROM, AND

INSEPARABLE LINKED WITH, CERTAIN BASIC PRINCIPLES AMONG WHICH ARE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, FREEDOM OF SETTLEMENT AND THE RIGHT TO PROPERTY, WHICH HAVE BEEN REFERRED TO US, UNDER THE THIRD OF THE FOUR GUIDELINES, FOR CONSIDERATION OF WAYS AND MEANS TO OVERCOME ANY PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES WHICH THEIR IMPLEMENTATION MIGHT ENTAIL.

ANOTHER ISSUE IS THE POWERS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE CENTRAL FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS STRUCTURE. NO GREAT CONFIDENTIAL

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DIFFICULTY SHOULD BE ENCOUNTERED IN THIS RESPECT SINCE UNDER THE FOUR GUIDELINES THEY SHOULD BE SUCH AS TO SAFEGUARD THE UNITY OF THE COUNTRY, HAVING REGARD TO THE BI-COMMUNAL CHARACTER OF THE STATE.

IT IS OUR VIEW THAT THE EXTENT OF THE TERRITORY TO BE ADMINISTERED BY EACH COMMUNITY, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A FEDERAL STATE, IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE. IF AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE IS REACHED ON THIS ISSUE, ON THE BASIS OF THE UNIVERSAL APPLICATION THROUGHOUT THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC, WITHOUT ANY DISCRIMINATION, OF THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES TO WHICH I HAVE JUST REFERRED, THEN I THINK THAT THE WAY WILL BE OPEN FOR A SETTLEMENT.

THE TERRITORY TO BE UNDER GREEK-CYPRIOT AND TURKISH-CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION RESPECTIVELY IS TO BE DETERMINED BY REFERENCE TO THE FACTORS OF LAND-OWNERSHIP

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 VIENNA 2527

EXDIS

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AND ECONOMIC VIABILITY OR PRODUCTIVITY. NEEDLESS TO SAY,

THE POPULATION RATIO SHOULD ALSO BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION. ACCORDING TO OFFICIAL AND INDISUPUTABLE RECORDS, BOTH UNDER BRITISH RULE AS WELL AS AFTER INDEPENDENCE, THE LAND-OWNERSHIP RATIO AND THE POPULATION RATIO DO NOT DIFFER MUCH.

IN THE LIGHT OF ALL I HAVE ALREADY SAID, I RENEW THE PROPOSAL THT THE EXTENT OF THE TERRITORY TO BE ADMINISTERED BY THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY SHALL BE 20 PERCENT.

IN ITS DESIRE TO FACILITATE A SETTLEMENT OF OUR COMMON PROBLEM, THE GREEK-CYPRIOT SIDE HAS ALREADY ACCEPTED THAT THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS WILL BE A BI-COMMUNAL FEDERATION. THIS IS, INDEED, THE FIRST INSTANCE WHERE A UNITARY STATE, LIKE CYPRUS, IS TO BE BROKEN UP AND BE RECONSTITUTED INTO SEPARATE REGIONS SO THAT A FEDERAL

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SYSTEM MAY BE APPLIED. WE CANNOT, HOWEVER, ACCEPT, UNDER THE GUISE OF A FEDERATION, THE PARTITION OF OUR COUNTRY THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TWO SEPARATE STATES LOOSELY LINKED TOGETHER. IN THE CASE OF CYPRUS, WHERE THE SIZE OF THE COUNTRY IS SO SMALL AND ITS ECONOMY INTEGRATED AND HOMOGENEOUS AND ALL ASPECTS OF LIFE INTERDEPENDENT, THE STRUCTURE OF THE FEDERATION SHOULD BE SUCH AS TO ENSURE COHESION AND UNITY OF THE COUNTRY AND PREVENT THE SEGREGATION OF THE PEOPLE. NEITHER OF A MAN, NOR OF A PEOPLE NOR OF A COUNTRY CAN A CHANGE BE DEMANDED WHICH BREAKS THE UNITY OR CONTINUITY OF ITS ENTITY.

THE BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF A FEDERAL SOLUTION, ENSURING THE UNITY OF THE STATE, BI-COMMUNAL OR OTHERWISE, AND THE ELEMENTS WHICH ARE INCOMPATIBLE WITH A FEDERAL SOLUTION CAN CLEARLY BE ESTABLISHED ON THE BASIS OF UNIVERSAL PRACTICE AND INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTED PRECEDENTS.

A PACKAGE DEAL APPROACH TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM PRESUPPOSES THE MAKING OF CLEAR AND COMPREHENSIVE PROPOSALS. ALL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM ARE INTERRELATED AND THERE CAN, THEREFORE, BE NO FINAL AGREEMENT ON ANY ONE POINT UNLESS THERE IS ALSO AGREEMENT ON THE OTHER POINTS . THAT IS WHY WE SHOULD FOLLOW THE COURSE THAT EACH SIDE WILL MAKE ITS PROPOSALS CONDITIONALLY, SUBJECT TO AN OVERALL AGREEMENT ON ALL ISSUES.

HAVING SAID THAT, I CAN STATE FROM NOW THAT THE GREEK-CYPRIOT SIDE IS READY TO PUT FORWARD CONCRETE PROPOSALS ON THE TERRITORIAL ASPECT, ACCOMPANIED BY A MAP, AS WELL AS ON CONSITUTIONAL MATTERS AND ALL OTHER ISSUES.

SINCE THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM WILL BE SOUGHT ON THE BASIS OF A PACKAGE DEAL APPROACH, WE CONSIDER THAT THE TURKISH-CYPRIOT SIDE SHOULD RESPOND IN A LIKE

MANNER MAKING PROPOSALS OR COUNTERPROPOSALS ON ALL ASPECTS. MERE COMMENTS OF EITHER SIDE ON THE PROPOSALS OF THE OTHER OR EVEN DETAILED ARGUMENTATION WHY ANY CONFIDENTIAL

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PROPOSALS ARE UNACCEPTABLE DO NOT CONTRIBUTE TO MEANINGFUL AND SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATION. PROGRESS CAN ONLY BE EXPECTED IF EACH SIDE HAS A COMPLETE AND CLEAR PICTURE OF THE PROPOSALS OF THE OTHER SIDE ON ALL ISSUES.

THE GREEK-CYPRIOIOT SIDE HAS COME TO VIENNA PREPARED TO DISCUSS IN ADEQUATE DEPTH ALL ASPECTS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. IT WILL NOT BE HELPFUL AND WOULD IN OUR VIEW BE PREMATURE TO ENTER UPON A PROLONGED DISCUSSION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASPECT BEFORE REAL PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE ON THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE, WHICH WE CONSIDER TO BE VITALLY LINKED TO ALL ASPECTS OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. THAT IS WHY IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THERE SHOULD EMERGE DURING THESE NEGOTIATIONS A CLEAR AND CONCRETE PICTURE OF WHAT THE TURKISH SIDE PROPOSES ON THE TERRITORIAL ASPECT.

THE CREATION OF FALSE IMPRESSIONS THAT PROGRESS IS BEING MADE, IF NONE IS IN FACT BEING MADE ON THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, WOULD NOT IN THE LONG TERM SERVE THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS, AS A WHOLE, OR THE CAUSE OF PEACE. IT MIGHT, ALSO BE DETRIMENTAL TO THE PRESTIGE OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES WE ARE NEGOTIATING; AND WE REGARD THE PRESERVATION OF SUCH PRESTIGE AS VITAL FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE PRESENT TALKS.

I HAVE COME TO THE END OF MY OPENING STATEMENT, BUT BEFORE I CONCLUDE I FEEL THAT I SHOULD STRESS THAT ANY PROGRESS IN DEALING WITH HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS WILL MOST CERTAINLY GIVE MORE IMPETUS TO THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS AS A WHOLE. ONE SUCH PROBLEM TO WHICH I WOULD REFER SPECIFICALLY IS THAT OF MISSING PERSONS. I AM SURE THAT A SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT REGARDING THE PROCEDURE FOR ASCERTAINING THEIR FATE, AS ENVISAGED AT THE FIRST OF THE TWO RECENT MEETINGS BETWEEN HIS BEATITUDE PRESIDENT MAKARIOS AND MR. DENKTASH, WILL BE TANGIBLE PROOF THAT BETTER DAYS ARE ABOUT TO DAWN  
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IN OUR LONG SUFFERING ISLAND.

LET US, THEREFORE, HOPE THAT BOTH SIDES, FULLY CONSCIOUS OF THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES WILL DO EVERYTHING



POSSIBLE TO MAKE THESE TALKS A SUCCESS SO AS TO LAY  
SOLID FOUNDATIONS FOR A JUST AND LASTING SOLUTION OF  
THE PROBLEM OF OUR OWN COMMON COUNTRY. OUR SIDE  
SOLEMNLY PLEDGES TO DO THAT. END TEXT.MEEHAN

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## Message Attributes

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